Essay on Gradual emancipation & Colonization.

There are about 2.300.000 slaves in the U. States. The world seems to have come to the conclusion that the yoke must be broken & the oppressed go free. The Abolitionists thrusts his shoulder against the mountain and heaves & raves & fancies its tall forests are bending & its avalanches tumbling, when in fact there is no motion except in his own convulsed & feeble frame.

The Colonizationist is well aware that the evil which has been grounded in the vitals of our Constitution, which has grown with our growth & strengthened with our strength, can not be uprooted suddenly lest the whole system should be rent, nor yet permitted long to continue lest it should extinguish the last spark of vitality.

There then is our condition, our slaves increasing at the rate of 60.000 a year - our Colony at present unable to receive the 1/10 part of our increase, tho. its prosperity & prospects are unparalleled in the history of Colonies. And if it were open for the comfortable reception of the whole increase, the slaves can not now be obtained, and if obtained in their present state of vice & ignorance they would be unwilling to go. & were they to go in this condition, a majority of them would prove a curse to Liberia. There are stubborn facts they meet us whenever we approach this subject.

On the other hand it is the conviction of almost every rational man who knows any thing about slavery & the true character and condition of slaves in general, that they must not be suddenly turned loose upon the community. Again & again the question recurs "what must we do? Tho we look to the Colony with high hopes & support it with a liberal hand, we cannot avoid the conviction that it is inadequate to relieve us from our growing exigencies. It is the decided opinion of at least some of the Colonizationists, that a medium course is the only one dictated by duty or prudence. The plan is Gradual emancipation & Colonization. Thus slavery was successfully abolished in this state Pennsylvania & N. York, and under circumstances far more unfavourable, than those now existing in at least some of the neighbouring slave states.

when there was no colony rich & flourishing to which they could point their slaves when released & bid them go be free & happy, but they had to seek some mean habitation surrounded with few restraints of virtue & many incentives to vices where they drag out a miserable existence & instead of increasing the whole mass gradually wastes away.

Neither did their masters ~~think~~ feel that they were raising citizens ~~slaves~~ for a new & happy Republic ~~on the famous~~ where they might occupy the Pulpit or the Forum, gird themselves under the American Eagle or sit in the halls of Legislation.

But now take for instance Kentucky; She proposes to say to day that every slave hereafter born in her territory, shall be free at 25 years of age — in the mean time heartily supporting the Colonization Society, sending out as many free-blacks as she can obtain willing to go & all that might be emancipated for that purpose, the Col. S. thus filling up the Colony as rapidly as would be safe, during these 25 years. No one can doubt that the Colony will be greatly extended during this period, & far more inviting & ready to receive almost any number of young & enterprising citizens reared up for the purpose of dwelling amongst them. Thus when this generation would have risen up, already having thrown off the Character of ignorance & stupidity; their fathers & perhaps their brethren, returning intelligent African Gentlemen, inviting them to go in their ships & reap the rich harvests which, spontaneously with out sweat or toil, spring up on their fertile farms, or receiving letters, such as was recently written back by Mark Green (a man I instructed in the Sabbath school for some time at Danville) the words I allude to are these "I would not give my home in Liberia for all Master Johns farm & negroes." With such intercourse & their minds thus directed, we can scarcely entertain a doubt that nearly all would willingly emigrate & if perchance some could not or would not go, then we may expect they will not be of such a character as that our humanity will require us to hold

them in slavery. And the remnant might remain & like the New-England slaves, gradually diminish until they would become extinct in our land. Or like the negroes of St Domingo - where, in their capital city before the revolution there was 60,000 but now including Boyer's army there are only about 5 or 6 they would dwindle away by their own sayings.

If you what has been done it is believed that this plan can be carried in Maryland, Kentucky Missouri, Tennessee N. Carolina & probably in Virginia. These are the only states that have taken any considerable interest in the Col. Society & these are the states which seem most deeply to feel the importance of taking vigorous measures to release themselves from the incubus of slavery. The states farther south have uniformly been so factious on this subject that they have given but little aid & no evidence that they under any circumstances would let their negroes go to be colonized any where. It has been suggested that we let those states alone, as we have enough to do, in pushing a plan for gradually emancipating & colonizing the slaves in those states which are willing to cooperate efficiently in doing this great work. The South will not complain of this, but for a time will rejoice to be left quiet. There can be but little disposition in interesting any of those states mentioned in gradual emancipation, if an answer in any degree plausible can be given to the question, "what will we do with them when free? If we leave out Va. the other 5 states Md. N.C. Ten. Ky & Mo. contain only about 700,000 slaves & between 2 & 2½ Millions of whites & as has been remarked they are waiting to act more efficiently as soon as the way is clearly opened. And it appears evident to many of the friends of Col. that 99/100 of the present generation of slaves must leave their bones on American soil. It is thought demonstrable, that the system of Gradual emancipation is the only mode that can successfully rid our country of slavery & avoid the great & insuperable difficulties which bind us almost on every side.

4 But the question arises what must be done in regard to those states where the people are determined that involuntary slavery shall be perpetual? The best thing that now can be done is to let them alone. As slavery becomes unfashionable in those states bordering upon them, there is a certain class of men who will sell their slaves in the Southern markets as long as they ~~are often~~ will receive them & go to a free state. Much of this business is going on now. By this means & colonization we may expect the annual increase will be removed in those states where gradual emancipation is proposed. While in the extreme Southern states their number will not only duplicate in 25 years but will plus that number by all imported with their offspring. Already they have began to see their danger & in some of these states have passed laws against their importation.

In this place I wish to introduce 3 facts quoted from undoubted authority. "1st. 30 years ago the hire of a negro was 4 more than it is now & the expense of raising & supporting him 4 less. 2d In many parts of Va. it is confessed that slaves could not now be supported by the proceeds of their own labour, & consequently the sale of a portion of their increase is necessary annually to defray the expense of keeping those that are retained. 3d In a valuation of the Lands in U.S. made 1799 & another 1814 it appears that in 15 years Va. with 40 - millions of acres gained an increase of 94 Mills of dollars. While Pensylvania with 28 Mills of acres gained an increase of $244 Mills - So that Pen. with less land by 14 Millions of acres surpassed Va. by 150 Mls of dollars in that single article within so short a period."

I have introduced these facts to shew that there are circumstances & times in the system of slavery, when the slave is of little or no value. & it does not require the eye of a Lynx to see that such a period is not far distant in the states far South if the states neighbouring to them should wash their hands of the evil. The negroes will eat up their sugar & cotton we will be supplied by our colony; & soon we may expect

a voice from the south, louder & more plaintive than was ever heard on the subject of nullification, not commanding us to let them & their negroes alone, or the Union is gone, but help or we perish."

When there will be no more scruples on the part of our national government in taking up the subject, & we may hope not only that the colony will be efficiently supported but that Congress will appropriate a district for about 1 million of our coloured population somewhere beyond the great western waters where like the Indians they may remain under our care till more enlightened & thirsting for perfect freedom, they will build their own ships & sail to the great Republic of Africa & dwell in the land of their Fathers. To this new Western Colony in the mean-time we can send those gradually emancipated to rule over the ignorant negroes of the South, provided they should not go to Africa. But should this new Colony not be established & if St Domingo & the other West Indies should not open a port for their reception, the last method will be for the remaining whites to come out from amongst them all to pour out their remaining drops of white blood into the dark ocean around them.

It was mentioned that doubt exists about Va. True she is bold & enterprising — but already she groans under the enormous weight of 1 Million of slaves & fears are entertained of effecting emancipation ~~is not~~ is not commenced until the lapse of 25 years, the markets for her surplus slaves being closed — that multitudes of them must be let loose sooner or starve — It means those places where a part now have to be bartered for provisions to feed the rest. However from the Spirit she has shown in the Colonization cause we may hope for her release!

This is a time of almost universal movement in the world on the subject of Slavery – The release of 900.000 slaves in the British Islands will every where give an impulse to the public mind & will make it necessary for us to act efficiently & speedily. This is emphatically a day of rapid movement morally & physically. Places which were once a thousand miles distant now are almost in the same neighbourhood & that which once would have required an age to effect is now brought about in a day. So it is absolutely necessary that a help-meet should be quickly provided for Colonization. for its friends & enemies say the truth, when they affirm that it is inadequate to relieve our country from her present danger. Tho. it doubtless will do much to help on the great work – & to enlighten & civilize Africa.

But let gradual emancipation be entered upon by every state where it is practicable & let the new Colony be provided beyond the Mississippi a plan which at least in theory seems easy & plausible – Then we may hope that 5 or 6 of the present Slave states will soon free themselves of that population which already has cost them so much trouble & anxiety & that even before this thing is accomplished, the rising flood farther south will mark its own course & cut its own channel.

Speedy movement on this subject is necessary, it is believed already to be the 11th hour; if we depend solely upon Colonization; if we cast our whole burthen upon her, the ship will founder & bear her wreck on our own coast. If we slumber a little longer the gates of the City of Refuge will be closed & we will fall into the hands of the blood avenger; Or future history may have to record the horrid fact that the yellow race which may overspread this modern Canaan - once existed in two distinct colours, the black & the white man.

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